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**629**



## Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs

### The Involvement of Arafat, PA Senior Officials and Apparatuses in Terrorism against Israel: Corruption and Crime

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#### Introduction

*This report brings some very grave facts to your attention. Israel's military operation "Defensive Shield" has obtained clear-cut hard evidence that the Palestinian Authority under Yasser Arafat is a supporting encouraging and actively operating body of terror. Arafat and his close aides are directly responsible for the cold-blooded murder of Israeli citizens.*

*The main findings of this report are:*

1. Yasser Arafat was personally involved in the planning and execution of terror attacks. He encouraged them ideologically, authorized them financially and personally headed the Fatah Al Aqsa Brigades organization.
2. The closest aides to Arafat responsible for terrorist activity are head of General Intelligence Tawfik Tirawi and financier Fouad Shubaki, who operated the ongoing logistics of financial aid and support of terrorism actions.
3. The Al Aqsa Brigades organization, headed by Arafat, was put under the direct authority of Marawan Barghouti, who had no compunction in using women and even children to execute terrorist activity, which killed hundreds of Israelis.
4. Arafat and his men used the funds donated to them by other countries, including the European Union, to finance terrorist activity.
5. The Palestinian Authority allocated vast sums of money from its budget to pay salaries to Fatah terrorists (45 million dollars a month from Arab countries, 9 million dollars a month from the European Union).
6. The Palestinian Authority established close links with the "forces of evil" - Iran and Iraq. These countries supplied funds and terrorist warfare equipment to the Authority.
7. Syria supplied the Hamas and Islamic Jihad with the funds, enabling them to found and operate the terrorist infrastructure in Jenin.
8. Saudi Arabia financially supported the families of terrorists, including families of suicide bombers who carried out mass murder attacks in Israel.

27. The Palestinian Authority armed itself with weapons in complete violation of all agreements signed with Israel. At the head of the arms smuggling stands Fouad Shubaki.

28. Arafat's headquarters took great pains in encouraging the Israeli Arab population to join the war of violence and terror against Israel.

29. The most prominent criminal activity carried out by the Palestinian Authority has been the stealing of Israeli vehicles and forging of documents, in collaboration with Israeli Arab citizens.

30. Arafat's compound in Ramallah became the central command post for the terrorist activity and suicide bombing. The "security forces" headed by Tawfik Tirawi and directly responsible to Arafat himself, initiated, planned and saw to the finest details of every action taken against Israel and Israelis.

31. Corruption in the Palestinian authority. Economic management by means of monopolizing and unjust division of foreign funds among the various stratas of the Palestinians society. Embezzlements of payments and unjust collection of public resources transferred to private accounts of high ranking authority officials.

32. In this activity there has been complete cooperation between all the terror organizations - the Fatah, Hamas and Islamic Jihad.

33. Jenin became the "haven of suicide bombers" in the West Bank, with other towns following its lead.

34. During Israel's campaign to eradicate terrorism, the terrorists used the civilian population as a human shield. They operated within private homes, holding their own people hostage. They blew up houses and property, laid mines and booby-traps, in the hope of afterwards accusing Israel of the devastation and destruction.

35. The Fatah and Arafat's intelligence network intimidated and maltreated the Christian population in Bethlehem. They extorted money from them, confiscated land and property and left them to the mercy of street gangs and other criminal activity, with no protection.

ALL ALLEGATIONS MADE IN THIS REPORT ARE THROUGH ISRAELI INTELLIGENCE AS A RESULT OF THE ISRAELI CAMPAIGN TO ERADICATE THE SOURCES OF TERROR IN THE AREA UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY.

*Dani Naveh*  
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### Executive Summary

1. During Operation Defensive Shield, the IDF captured numerous documents (only some of which have so far been examined) and obtained much information from the questioning of captured terrorists. Both the documents and the information point at the direct and indirect involvement of Arafat, the Palestinian Authority (PA) and the Palestinian intelligence apparatuses in the operation of a well oiled system which engaged in the execution of terrorist attacks against Israel.

2. Throughout the years of the political process with Israel, Arafat preserved and developed the tool of violence (the non-eradication of the Hamas terror infrastructure, development of the military capabilities of the security forces and consolidation of the Tanzim as a means for activating the street, arming and preparing it for "D-Day"). Arafat also employed terrorism against Israel, in varying intensity, whenever he felt that the Oslo track was diverting from its course - as defined by the Palestinians. This, in the framework of Arafat's strategic concept which views terror as a legitimate tool for obtaining Palestinian national goals. Arafat, throughout his years of leadership, systematically combined political negotiations and violence, while determining the balance between the two according to the circumstances.

3. During the present confrontation, Arafat's employment of terrorism reached new peaks, while refraining from restraining the terror activity directed by the various organizations (Islamic and Fatah), he gave terrorism "free reign" (by releasing senior terrorists from prison and refrained from carrying out minimal counter-terrorist activity) and even encouraged terrorism (inciting the Palestinian population - the "Shahid speeches", financing and fostering terrorists).

4. The involvement of the PA and its leader Arafat, as evidenced in the documents and from questioning of captured terrorists, has three dimensions: The ideological dimension, which essentially means the sanctioning of lethal terrorist attacks (viewed as quality attacks which serve the PA's goals) and the use of terrorism as an important tool in promoting the Palestinians' goals vis-a-vis Israel; the financial dimension, continuous financing of the terrorist infrastructure, personally approved by Arafat and carried out by the PA civilian institutions, the heads of the PA security apparatuses and Arafat's associate (Fuad Shubaki); the practical dimension, involvement of the PA intelligence apparatuses, led by the General Intelligence, in direct and indirect assistance to the terror infrastructures and activities, including in the perpetration of lethal terrorist attacks inside Israel.

5. The captured documents prove unequivocally that the Fatah organization and the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades are one and the same and they cannot be separated. The documents clearly indicate that not only are the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades a pseudonym for terrorist attacks carried out by Fatah, but they are also a terrorist apparatus, which up until IDF operation Defensive Shield was in the process of institutionalization and intensification of its suicide and murderous attacks. The captured documents demonstrate that Arafat and other senior Fatah officials (Marwan Barghouti is of note) are the leaders of the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades and they finance its terror activities. According to one of the documents, Arafat is well aware of the negative implications of the terrorist attacks carried out by the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades at the time of General Zinni's stay in Israel, and the inclusion of the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades in the US State Department's list of terror organizations. Therefore, he tried to deny that Fatah and the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades are identical, and distanced himself from them.

6. The terror supporting policy adopted by the PA enabled all terror groups, those directed affiliated to Fatah as well as opposition groups, to broaden and consolidate their infrastructure in the PA areas, while exploiting the civilian population for the terror infrastructure.

7. As in the past, now too, the terrorist activities inspired by Arafat are directed first and foremost against defenseless civilians. These attacks are designed to harm Israelis and Jews wherever they are, although there are victims of other nationalities too, including Arabs (such as Israeli Arabs) and foreign citizens of various nationalities.

8. In addition, corruption is rampant in the PA, it includes irregularities in the administration, management of the Palestinian economy by monopolies which enable the financial rewarding of senior PA officials and their families. In addition, the distribution of PA money amongst the Palestinian population was

characterized by inequality and created large gaps between the majority of the Palestinian population and senior PA officials who enjoy a high standard of living, the expropriation of lands, and altering verdicts by bribery and threatening the lives of judges.

# **The Involvement of Arafat, PA Senior Officials and PA Security Apparatuses in Terrorism against Israel, Corruption and Crime**

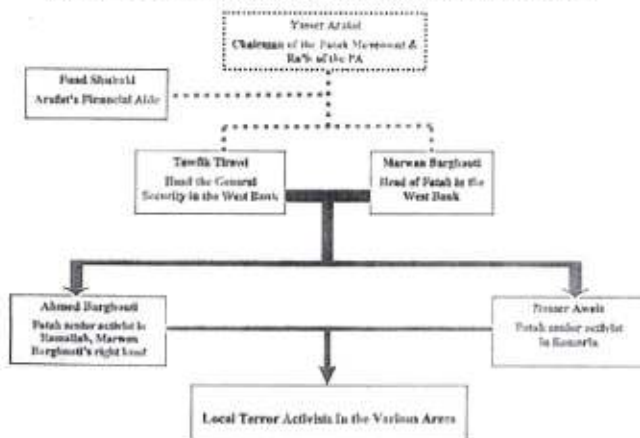
## **General**

1. During Operation Defensive Shield, the IDF captured numerous documents (most of which have not yet been thoroughly examined) and at the same time, initial information has been obtained from the questioning of terrorists arrested during the operation. From the information which has already accumulated, the clear involvement of some senior PA officials - led by Arafat and the apparatuses - in direct and indirect terror activity has been unveiled. Arafat's strategic choice to take the route of terror for implementation of his political goals, was translated into practice by the formulation of the ideological dimension by Arafat and his senior officials, upon which the terrorist activity was based and thus gave a "license" to terrorism as an important component of PA policy in the struggle against Israel. This, at the same time as ongoing financing of the terror infrastructures with Arafat's personal approval and with the involvement of the PA intelligence apparatuses led by the General Intelligence, in direct and indirect financial aid to the terror infrastructures and activities, including for the perpetration of lethal terrorist attacks inside Israel.

2. The characteristics of this strategy, of the employment of terrorism and the connection between the PA leaders and terror activists are illustrated in the following drawings:



## **Fatah Operational Infrastructure in the West Bank**





## Chapter I - The Ideological Dimension - Education, Incitement and Support by Senior PA Officials

1. Arafat and the PA sanction the use of terrorism as an important component in the struggle against Israel. The terrorist attacks, and especially those deep inside Israel, are defined as "quality attacks" that "help and support" the PA and its security apparatuses. Thus, Arafat encourages the use of terrorism as a tool for promoting his goals, not just by the "Fatah" (in its various names: "Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades", "Tanzim", "Battalions of the Return") of which he is head, but also by the Islamic opposition organizations (the "Palestinian Islamic Jihad" [PIJ], and "Hamas"). The legitimacy given by Arafat enabled the Fatah to become the dominant force leading the terrorism against Israel since the beginning of 2002.

2. The PA did not make any attempt to instill the need for a political process and for consolidating it in practice, in order to achieve the "peace of the brave". Thus, for example, the Palestinian education institutions in the PA not only did they refrain from educating the Palestinian youths for the goals of peace and coexistence, but the messages which they transmitted led to a deepening of hatred and the inflammation of passions. The result was the involvement of Palestinian youths in the Intifada, and in various instances, readiness on their part to carry out suicide attacks. Of significance in this connection are the words of a senior Fatah/Tanzim activist from Jenin refugee camp, Abd Al Karim Aweis, who directed mass murder attacks inside Israel and was arrested by the IDF on 30 March, that as a General Intelligence Apparatus activist in the PA, he felt a need to act and encourage others to act in the "spirit of the words" of Arafat and Marwan Barghout.

3. A statement of policy published by Arafat's bureau was sent to Arab notables in Israel through the "Liaison Committee" with Israeli Arabs, which operates from Arafat's bureau. The statement, which bears the emblem of the Palestinian Authority (PA) and the President's Bureau, was issued on September 30th 2001 to mark the Intifada's first anniversary, it is concerned mainly with the incitement of Israeli Arabs to take part in the violent events. The statement is full of vile expressions of hatred towards Israel and its citizens, who are called "Zionist gangs", "the robbers of the twentieth century", "the killers of children, women and the elderly", "creators of international terror", "land plunderers" to quote a few examples.

4. Over and beyond that, the statement reflects the absence of willingness by Arafat and the PA to recognize Israel's right to exist, and the PA's aspiration to establish "one homeland" belonging to "one people" on Palestine soil with Jerusalem as its capital. In the statement there is no trace of any mention of aspiration for peace and mutual co-existence, of the peace process, of the Oslo accords or the 1967 borders.

5. This is the language and terminology used by Arafat and the PA vis-a-vis their own people, in total contrast to the "positive" messages directed to the US and to Europe (the content and the style of the article signed by Arafat in the New York Times on February 3rd 2002, are significantly different from those in the statement of policy). It is of note that similar expressions of hatred and incitement that reflect refusal to accept Israel's existence and encouragement of violence and terrorism as a means for advancing the Palestinian strategic aims are strongly imbued in the educational system of the Palestinian Authority (which receives funds from the European Union) as well as in the Palestinian media, in literature and the various Palestinian cultural symbols.

6. Following is a statement transferred from Arafat's bureau to Israeli Arabs.

*The Palestinian Liberation Organization  
The Palestinian National Authority  
The President's Bureau*

**In the Name of Allah the Compassionate and Merciful**

**A Statement Made on Behalf of the Liaison Committee, Marking the First Anniversary of the Al Aqsa Intifada.**

Lo, the great crowd of our Palestinian people clutching [its land], standing fast and patient, whose roots are in the land of the fathers and grandfathers. You, with your steadfast determination and adherence [to the land] ever since Allah ordered so, [for] more than half a century, fighting the conqueror who plunders our land and homeland. It was fated that you and the next



Page 1  
Click to enlarge original document in Arabic



Page 2  
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document in Arabic



generations, until the day of resurrection of the dead, shall keep this homeland. You keep this deposit, which is [hanging] on your neck and the neck of your grandchildren, because you are the defenders and guardians [of the homeland] and live in it, and you are its original and lawful owners, and you are its heirs until the day you are resurrected. With you and with your help, we pay homage to the first anniversary of the spark of the Intifada... the blessed Al Aqsa Intifada in which our people is waging in the liberated territories and occupied territories, and abroad around the world, stressing the strength of the struggle treasured in its soul to explode the spark of anger accumulating at the face of the robbers of the twentieth century, the creators of international terrorism, the killers of children, women and the elderly, plunderers of land and livelihood, who destroy and burn the soil, the seeds and the rocks.

Indeed, the people, with all its sects and groups, started the Intifada everywhere it could. The ties have interlaced, that connect the sons of Jerusalem and the West Bank with those of the Gaza Strip and those of the cities occupied since 1948 [i.e. the Israeli Arab citizens], who have always been and forever will be the natural depth and fortified wall of our Palestinian people and its just cause. The [Palestinian] people has indeed started its Intifada in order to pave, with its pure and stainless blood, the pavements and alleys and squares of the holiest of holy places, the capital of the independent Palestinian state.

The man and the rock, the bird and the tree, have started the Intifada in the allies of Jerusalem and its holy places, the mountains of the West Bank and its valleys, the shores of Gaza and its refugee camps, the planes and hills and peaks of Palestine, the cities and villages of Palestine occupied since 1948 [i.e. Israel], the supreme one, withstanding its bitterness, holding fast and taking roots. Yes, we will draw up with blood the map of the one homeland ["al watan al wahad"] and the one people ["al shaab al wahad"]. We will indeed outline the marks of the nobility and national coping with the policy of discrimination, racism, land appropriation, deportation and intended expulsion, taken against the Palestinian person, in the absence of the international community [and while maintaining] false justice.

Today, we expect absolutely nothing of the rulers of the [Arab] nation, which is overcome with sleepiness and bound by silence and overwhelmed by cowardice. We are expectant and we follow with dreamy nationalist eyes our families and great people in the towns and villages of the steadfast resistance of 1948. For they share the cause and the fate, share the one national dream. The Al Aqsa Intifada and independence have fulfilled the unity and national alliance of all the sons of the determined Palestinian people, despite the blocks created by the occupation, despite all the acts of massacre committed by the Zionist gangs since the 1948 disaster [the "Naqba"]. To commemorate this great memory, we now emphasize, together and equally, the ongoing will of the one people, the life of the noble liberty, despite the policy of suppression and racial discrimination taken against us by the bullies of the worst of occupiers ever known in history, in order to express in its rage the historical exploitation that came upon us since the beginning of modern history by the stone Intifada, the Intifada of the hidden rage...

Today, no voice can overcome the sound of the Intifada. It will continue to be the Intifada of the one people and one outburst of blood... it will continue to be a prolonged Intifada of rage... a prolonged Intifada of independence... an Intifada of innumerable generations which will continue until our supreme national dream is fulfilled. Since we are the lawful owners of the land and the truth, of the independent homeland and independent state. Therefore, with you and with your help, and by the respectable members of our Arab Islamic nation, and by the people of freedom in the world, we will establish our independent Palestinian state whose capital shall be the holy Jerusalem... with you and with your help we shall liberate our holy places, the Church of the Nativity and the Al Aqsa Mosque, in order for the Palestinian flag to fly free in the sky of Jerusalem, cradle of the heavenly religions, land of the apostles, the land where the people shall convene in the Day of Judgement.

*Glory and eternity to our innocent casualties,  
Quick recovery to our wounded heroes,  
Liberty to our imprisoned heroes,  
Disgrace and contempt to the agents [collaborators] and those who were corrupted,  
This is a revolution until victory.*

The Liaison Committee  
Presidential Bureau

Sunday  
30 September 2001

## Chapter II - The Financial Dimension - The Financing of Terrorism by PA



**Officials**

1. The PA and its leader Arafat engaged in the financing of the terrorist organizations under its patronage and enjoyed its backing, inter alia, by the money of the "donor states", instead of engaging in the construction of the PA and in its preparation towards possible future independence.
2. Since the end of 2000, Arab states have transferred to the PA monthly financial aid of \$45 million for financing the current budget (since April 2002 this sum was increased to \$55 million). The EU transfers to the PA approx. \$9 million (10 million euros) monthly and thus it finances approx. 10% of the PA's current budget. In the PA's budget, which stands at approx. \$90 million per month, the salaries constitute the main part - approx. two thirds of the budget. The implication is that most of the salaries of the PA employees earners are financed by foreign elements.
3. A perusal of the files of the General Security Apparatus Organization and Administration Department reveals that the PA leadership gave legitimacy to the granting of salaries to hundreds of activists in the Fatah and in other organizations operating in a new framework in early 2001 in the PLO - in integrating them in the list of National Security employees, despite the fact that in practice they operated in the framework of local branches of the Tanzim, the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades and other organizations in the PA. Their integration in the list of PA employees enabled them to continue to engage in the perpetration of attacks against Israel, without having the worry about problems of livelihood.
4. Moreover, Arafat was personally involved in the allocation of money to terror activists, according to documents captured during Operation Defensive Shield. The money is given to those defined as "fighting brothers", some known to be Fatah activists involved in murderous terror attacks in which Israelis were killed. Many captured documents point to the manner of budget approval. The commander in the field transfers a list of "recommended activists" for receiving of grants, Arafat approves, even though in most occasions, he significantly cuts the requested sum. For example:
  - a. Arafat approved financial compensation of \$4000 to four Tanzim activists who were injured during terrorist activity against Israel.
  - b. Atef Abayyat (Abu Jala'if) who until his death on 18 October 2001, headed the main terror network in the Bethlehem area was mentioned in a list of 24 Fatah activists, each of which received \$300 from Arafat via the Fatah branch secretary in Bethlehem, and in a list of 9 families of Fatah commanders which were killed Arafat gave financial aid via the Bethlehem Fatah branch.
5. All the instructions for carrying out the payments are transferred from Arafat to the PA's "Finance Ministry" and senior intermediaries: Marwan Barghouti (senior Fatah/Tanzim official in the West Bank arrested by Israel in April 2002), Fa'ak Kana'an (head of Fatah in Tulkarm), Hikham Balawi (secretary of the PA's National Security Supreme Committee) and Fuad Shubaki (the PA's main financial official). In addition, the PA utilized extra budgetary funds (created from funds which accumulated from various PA activities, such as the import of oil and tobacco to its areas, for the financing of activities connected to the confrontation with Israel).
6. The documents are decisive proof of the role of Arafat and the PA in the systematic, institutionalized and ongoing financial support of the Fatah/ Tanzim/ Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades terror infrastructures and activists.

**Examples of Arafat's Financing of Terror Activists****Document no. 1**

The Palestinian Liberation Organization  
The Palestinian National Authority  
The President's Bureau

To the Fighting President  
Brother Abu Amar, may the Lord protect you,  
Greetings,

I hereby request you to allocate financial aid in the sum of \$2500 for the following brethren:

1. Ra'ed el Karmi (note: former commander of a group in the Fatah/Tanzim Tulkarm that masterminded the attack on the Bat-Mitzvah party in Hadera).
2. Amar Qadan (note: a senior activist of Presidential Security/Force 17 in Ramallah, involved in the activities of





its operational cell).

Click to enlarge original document in Arabic

Thank you,

Your son, Hussein al Sheikh  
(note: senior Fatah activist in the West Bank)

(Note: in Yasser Arafat's handwriting:)

Treasury/Ramallah  
Associate \$600 to each of them.  
Yasser Arafat (signature)  
(19/9/2001)

#### Document no. 2

20 JAN-02 SUN 16:01 FATAH OFFICE FAX NO.  
022985729

Sep 29'84 17:50 P.001

(Note: this is a fax that was sent twice: the first time from Ra'ed el Karmi to Marwan Barghouti and the second time from Barghouti to Arafat.)

To fighter brother Abu al Kassam  
(Note: Marwan Barghouti, head of the Fatah/Tanzim in the West Bank)

Greetings,

**Subject: Urgent Financial Aid**

1. Jamil Hamad Adwan
2. Majid Yussuf Subhi Jarad
3. Mahmud Raleb Mahmud Altahel
4. Mansour Saleh Sharim
5. Subhi Yussuf Jarad
6. Iyad Abed Al Rahim Jarad
7. Hazem Wael Subhi Hetab
8. Ahmed Sameh Al Adrisi
9. Sami Mahmud Dib Sabeh
10. Iyad Nasser
11. Marad Mustafa Abed Al Rahman Abdu
12. Muhamed Sharif Zidan

(Note: these activists are known Fatah operational activists in Tulkarm, who were involved in lethal attacks.)

Sincerely,

Your brother,

Ra'ed al Karmi

(Note: was head of the Fatah/Tanzim infrastructure in Tulkarm)

To Brother President Abu Amar, may the Lord protect him,  
Greetings,

I request of you to order the allocation of a thousand dollars for each of the fighter brethren.

Sincerely,

Marwan Al Barghouti

(Note: in Yasser Arafat's handwriting:)

The Treasury/Ramallah  
Please allocate \$350 to each.  
Yasser Arafat (signature)  
7/1/2002

#### Document no. 3



Click to enlarge original document in Arabic

**State of Palestine  
(Fatah insignia)**

The Supreme Movement Committee  
Tulkarm Districts Branch

The Palestinian National Liberation Movement  
Fatah

The Brother President Abu Amar, May God protect you

Please allocate the sum of \$2000 to each of the following  
fighting brothers.

For your handling.

(15 names including five who took part in shooting  
attacks in the Tulkarm district and one activist - Bilal Abu  
Amsha who participated in lethal attacks, including a  
shooting attack towards a border guard base on 11  
September 2001 [2 border guard policemen killed and  
one wounded] and the murder of an Israeli in Baqa Al Gharbiyah on 31 May 2001)

Your son, the General Secretary

Fa'ak Kana'an  
(Head of Fatah in Tulkarm)  
(Signature)

Note 1 in Arafat's handwriting and signature

Finance Ministry/Ramallah

A sum of \$800 should be allocated to each one

5.4.2001  
(Signature)

Note 2 in handwriting

The Supreme Movement Committee  
The brother Marwan Barghouti  
(Signature)

The Main Office - Tulkarm - Telefax: 9-2975444

Fatah Office 8.4.2001 15:37, Fax No. 02-2885729

**Financing of Fatah/Tanzim and Al Aqsa Brigades Infrastructures and  
Activities by Arafat and his Aides**

(Summary of Captured Documents)

Ser. No.	Date	The Requester	Nature of the Request	The Approving Element	The Sum Approved
1	9.7.2001	Kamal Hamid, Fatah Bethlehem branch secretary	Allocation of \$2000 to each person on the list of 24 Fatah members in the Bethlehem district. The name of Atef Abayat is prominent in this list until his death he headed the main terror cell in the sector which perpetrated	Yasser Arafat with his personal signature.	\$350 for each of the 24 members.



Click to enlarge original  
document in Arabic



			terrorist attacks in which Israelis were killed and wounded.		
2	16.9.2001	An element in the " <b>Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades</b> " (his name does not appear in the document).	Allocation of <b>38,000 shekels</b> for current expenses for tending to families of martyrs, acquisition of electrical components and chemical materials for production of explosive charges and bombs (5-9 charges per week); procurement of Kalashnikov and M-16 bullets.	The request is being handled by <b>Fuad Shubaki</b> , head of financial directorate of the "General Security Apparatus" and Arafat's confidante. It can be assumed that Arafat personally approved the allocation of the sum.	According to Shubaki's calculations, the real cost of these requests varies between 110,000-150,000 shehels. It can be assumed that a sum of such scope was approved by Arafat.
3	19.9.2001	<b>Hussein Al-Sheikh</b> , a senior Fatah official in the West Bank.	Allocation of <b>\$2,500</b> to 3 Fatah/Tanzim senior commanders involved in many lethal attacks, including the killing attack in the Bat-Mitzvah party in Hadera.	<b>Yasser Arafat</b> (in his personal signature).	<b>\$600</b> for each commander.
4	7.11.2001	<b>Kamal Hamid</b> , Fatah Bethlehem branch secretary	Allocation of urgent aid of <b>\$3,000</b> for each of the 9 families of martyr commanders killed in the battle in Bet Jala. The name of Atef Abayat stands out in the list.	<b>Yasser Arafat</b> (in his personal signature).	<b>\$800</b> for each family
5	20.1.2001	<b>Marwan Barghouti</b> , head of the Fatah/Tanzim in the West Bank.	Allocation of urgent financial aid for 12 Fatah/Tanzim terror infrastructure activists in	<b>Yasser Arafat</b> (in his personal signature).	<b>\$350</b> to each of the terror infrastructure activists.

			Tulkarm who were involved in lethal attacks. The request was in continuation to an inquiry by <b>Ra'ed Karmi</b> , head of the Fatah/Tanzim terror infrastructure in Tulkarm.		
6	(?)	An element in the " <b>Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades</b> " (his name does not appear in the document).	Allocation of <b>\$80,000</b> for construction of a heavy arms production workshop (including a lathe, a milling machine and equipment required for metal processing in the production process of weapons such as rockets and mortars). In addition, allocation of \$16,600 for the regular operation of the workshop (salaries, rent, electricity and raw materials)	Fuad Shubaki is dealing with the request. It can be assumed that Arafat personally approved allocation of the sum.	It can be assumed that the request was approved by <b>Arafat</b> .
7	(?)	(?)	Assistance in the acquisition of M-16 rifles for the Fatah/Tanzim terror infrastructure in Tulkarm.	<b>Yasser Arafat</b>	<b>Arafat</b> approved financial aid (to cover the costs of buying the rifles)

### Chapter III - The Practical Dimension - PA and Fatah Security Apparatuses Support of Terrorism

1. Deep involvement of the PA intelligence apparatuses, extensively deployed in the field, in supporting the terrorism: the documents reveal that the PA security apparatuses, directly subordinated to Arafat and highly influential in the "field", directly and indirectly assist the terrorist infrastructures and terrorist activity at various levels of involvement. Of particular note in the documents is the role of the "General Intelligence Apparatus" (GIA) in the West Bank, headed by Tawfiq Tirawi, a clear associate of Arafat. GIA personnel hold close ties with the



"Fatah"/"Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades"/"Tanzim" terrorist infrastructures and occasionally (in Jenin, for instance) with those of the PIJ and Hamas, and at times lend them practical support (while in parallel, the GIA and other intelligence apparatuses closely watch and keep tabs on those involved in terrorism, but do not use their abundant information to foil terrorist attacks).

2. Many examples are noted in the captured documents for the direct and indirect assistance given to the terrorist organizations by the PA intelligence apparatuses. Thus, for example, a document of the GIA in Jenin demonstrates that the "Fatah" and PA intelligence apparatuses maintain cross-organizational cooperation with the "PIJ" and the "Hamas". This was expressed, inter alia, in a suicide attack in the Israeli city of Afula (27 November 2001) which was financed, according to the document, by funds that came from the "PIJ" secretary in Damascus (2 Israeli civilians were killed and 50 wounded in the attack; the "PIJ" and "Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades" claimed joint responsibility for the attack).

3. Several expressions of the direct and indirect support of terrorism provided by the GIA and other PA intelligence apparatuses are listed below, as reflected in the captured documents:

- a. Participation in terrorist attacks: from several documents it can be learned that intelligence personnel were directly involved in planning, preparing and carrying out terrorist attacks, together with the Fatah / Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades / Tanzim/ "Battalions of the Return" cells.
- b. Procurement of arms: PA intelligence apparatuses personnel were involved in the procurement of arms, their transfer to the terrorist organizations (Fatah, PIJ and Hamas) and in one instance assisting in transferring arms from one area to another (using an ambulance).
- c. Refraining from foiling terrorist attacks despite having early warning information: the documents clearly show that no efforts or attempts were made to foil terrorist attacks, not even suicide attacks inside Israel, of which the "GIA" and other apparatuses had early warning information. Thus, the intelligence apparatuses allow the terrorist organizations to continue their regular activity with almost no significant interference.
- d. Providing early warning information to the terrorists: according to one of the documents, the "GIA" warned terrorists whose names were included in Israel's Most Wanted List that they received; a computer file shows that the "GIA" has systematic procedures for warning senior activists when IAF aircraft are noted, including senior activists known to be involved in terrorism.
- e. Refraining from arresting terrorists who found shelter in the PA areas, even ones who carried out lethal attacks and suicide bombers-to-be: terrorists who carried out lethal attacks inside Israel escape to their homes in the PA areas, without any attempt being made by the intelligence apparatuses to arrest them or to prevent them from additional attacks, not even terrorists known to be potentially preparing to carry out suicide attacks (the common procedure is to make a debriefing and file the 'event' in the intelligence files; occasionally, it is attempted to watch them after they are released or recruit them to the intelligence apparatuses).
- f. Assassination of alleged collaborators: a "GIA" document includes a list titled - "Names included in the Tulkarm assassination list" which has been forwarded to the review of Tawfiq Tirawi. The document implies that the GIA is about to assassinate them, after Tirawi's approval. The document ends stating - "the order is ready and the decision regarding the assassination has been made" By assassinating those defined as so-called "collaborators" with Israel, the GIA indirectly assists the activity of the terrorist organizations, by functioning as their "counter-intelligence" arm.

#### Document 1

1. In a detailed report of the "General Intelligence" Apparatus (GIA) from 4 February 2002 regarding the activity in the Jenin area it was stated that:

- a. Cooperation takes place in the Jenin area between the Hamas, the "Palestinian Islamic Jihad" (PIJ) and the Palestinian intelligence apparatuses. "Hamas" and PIJ penetrated the intelligence apparatuses in Jenin by means of payoffs. The document details the names of persons belonging to the GIA and the "Preventive Security Apparatus" (PSA) who operate on behalf of the "PIJ" and "Hamas".
- b. Jamal Switat, Deputy Head of the PSA in Jenin, reports on a regular

basis to the activist in charge of the "PIJ" on dates of arrests and names of wanted terrorists.

e. Jamal Switat, Deputy Head of the PSA, together with an additional PSA officer, are procuring arms for the "PIJ" and "Hamass", and they constitute the source for most of the arms possessed by these organizations.

f. The suicide terror attack in Afula on 27 November 2001 was a clear expression of the operational cooperation between the intelligence apparatuses and the PIJ. According to the document, one of the suicide bombers who participated in the attack was a GIA member who was recruited by the Deputy Head of the PSA in Jenin (the "PIJ" and "Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades" took joint responsibility for the attack).

**The underlined lines:**

"The Hamas movement and the PIJ have penetrated the security

"The Hamas movement and the PIJ have penetrated the security apparatuses in Jenin by means of payoffs, including into the GIA."

"Jamal Switat (is) Deputy Head of the Preventive (Intelligence Apparatuses) in Jenin and responsible for the (Islamic) Jihad, he often contacts it and reports to it on the waves of arrests against them, their dates and the names of wanted men. Additionally, he supplies arms to the Hamas and to the (Islamic) Jihad by trading with it."

[First page of the GIA Report, 4 February 2002]



[Click to enlarge original document in Arabic](#)

**Document 2**

1. A detailed document by the Head of the GIA in the Tulkarm district dated 6 February 2002 addressed to Tawfiq Tirawi deals with the Fatah and Tanzim terrorist infrastructure in the Tulkarm district. The report states that the Ziad Da'as squad, one of the 3 Fatah/Tanzim squads in the local terrorist infrastructure, planned and coordinated the "Hadera Action" (the lethal attack at the Batmitzvah party, 17 January 2002). The Head of the GIA in the Tulkarm district notes that the activities of this squad are "qualitative and successful". He adds that "the members (of this squad) are close to us (i.e. to the GIA) and maintain ongoing coordination and contacts with us". Two additional squads of the Fatah/Tanzim terrorist infrastructure in Tulkarm are in contact with Marwan Barghouti, who is involved in the power struggles against the intelligence apparatuses and is trying to deepen his influence on the Tulkarm terrorist infrastructure.

**The underlined lines:**

"The Ziad Da'as squad...

This squad carried out qualitative and successful operations. The last one in this framework was the coordination and planning of the operation in Hadera to avenge the death of the martyr Ra'ed Karmi. Its men are very close to us (i.e. to the GIA) and maintain constant coordination and contact with us."



[Click to enlarge original document in Arabic](#)

**Document 3**



A GIA document from the Tulkarm district dated 21 May 2001 addressed to the Head of the GIA in the Ramallah district details the names of 232 terrorists wanted by Israel (nearby two names the word "intelligence" has been added by hand, implying that they are connected to the intelligence apparatuses). The document notes in handwriting "please inform the brothers whose names are mentioned above to take cautionary measures" (and this in addition to the holding of a full security investigation about them).



#### The underlined lines:

"Attached hereto is a form with the names of men wanted by the Israeli occupation who are with you..."

Note: Notify the brothers whose name appears above to take precautionary measures..."

[Click to enlarge original document in Arabic](#)

#### Examples of the Involvement of PA Apparatuses in Arms Procurement

In a letter addressed to Fuad Shubaki (Arafat's crony and confidant) an ambitious plan of the "Al Aqsa Martyrs Battalions" (cover name for the Fatah operational arm in the West Bank) to establish a heavy arms production workshop was uncovered. They intend to procure, among other items, a lathe (for which the organization requires \$25,000) and a milling machine (\$40,000). These machines are required for metal processing in the production of weapons such as artillery rockets and mortars (forbidden by the PA-Israel signed agreements).

#### Document no. 1

##### Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades Palestine

##### Construction Materials

- 1 Lathe - \$25,000
- 2 milling machines - \$40,000
- 3 aircraft canopies (Hood in original document) - \$5000
- 4 welding machines - \$2000
- 5 oxygen machines - \$3000
- 7 working tool kits - \$1500
- 8 tri-phasia electricity infrastructure - \$2000
- Sum total - \$80,000

Salaries	3000
	700
	700
	=====
	\$4400 - 1
Rent	1800
Monthly supplies	5000
Electricity, materials	2000
+ container trucks	
	=====
	\$8800 - 2

1 + 2 = 13,200 per month

##### Lathe Specifications

Blade (?) 75 cm

Meter length

Internal and external screws from 1 mm until 1 inch

Variable speed - Fast-slow

Engine 5 HP (tri-phasia)

Knives of various shapes and sizes

Drill supports and belt

Main drill cap

##### Milling Machine Specifications

Vertical and horizontal

Centimeter wide opening in both directions

Blade latch

Various types of knives



[Click to enlarge original document in Arabic](#)

#### Document no. 2

## Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades Palestine

### Financial Report

The debts which we have accumulated until now are estimated to be 38000 shekels. The following are the details:

1. The cost of posters of the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades: Azam Mazhar, Usama Jubara, Shadi Afuri, Yasser Badawi, Ahed Fares (addition in handwriting of 2000 shekels).
2. Costs of printed announcements, invitations and mourners shelters for martyrs (addition in handwriting of 1250 shekels).
3. Cost of sticking photos of martyrs on wooden boards and also of the martyrs Thabat Thabet and Mahmud Al Jamil (addition in handwriting of 1000 shekels).
4. Cost of memorial ceremonies for the martyrs. Memorial ceremonies were held for the martyr Azam and the martyr Usama (addition in handwriting of 6000 shekels).
5. Costs of electrical parts and various chemical materials (for manufacture of explosive charges and bombs). This is the greatest expenditure (the cost of one ready explosive charge is 700 shekels at least). We need every week 5-9 explosive charges for squads in the various areas (addition in handwriting of shekel per week x 4 = 20000 shekels per month).
6. The cost of bullets  
The cost of a Kalashnikov bullet is 7-8 shekels and M-16 bullet 2-2.5 shekels. We need bullets on a daily basis.
7. Note: There are 3000 Kalashnikov bullets at a cost of 2 shekels per bullet. We require that you transfer to us immediately a sum of money to purchase them (addition in handwriting of 22,500 shekels for Kalashnikov bullets and 60,000 shekels for M-16 bullets).

In conclusion, all the glory and pride to those supporting the brave resistance against the oppressive occupation.

From the revolution until victory.

Palestinian Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades

16 September 2001



Click to enlarge original  
document in Arabic

### Chapter IV - The "Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades" and the Fatah Organization are one and the same, and Yasser Arafat is their leader and commander

1. Documents captured by the IDF during Operation Defensive Shield prove that the Fatah organization and the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades are one and the same.
2. The documents clearly indicate that the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades are not just a pseudonym for terrorist attacks carried out by the Fatah, but also a dedicated apparatus aimed at perpetrating terror attacks. Until Operation Defensive Shield, this apparatus had been in the process of institutionalization, which is expressed in the correspondence of the brigades with Fatah senior officials, particularly Marwan Barghouti. The Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades terror activity, their arms requirements, their structure and organization (in the Jenin area, for instance) and their financial requirements can be learned from this correspondence (the financing of their activity is very central in the correspondence).
3. According to the captured documents, at the head of the pyramid is Yasser Arafat, the leader of the Fatah, in all its various pseudonyms and apparatuses (Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, Tanzim). One of the documents, which concerns a request to aid detained or wanted terrorists (belonging to the Fatah and the Palestinian security apparatuses) is addressed by the Fatah and the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades to Yasser Arafat personally.
4. It is of note that the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades carried out suicide and murder attacks in growing intensity during the six months prior to Operation Defensive Shield, overshadowing the Hamas and PIJ: after perpetrating two attacks at the end of 2001, they proceeded to carry out continuous attacks in early 2002: 4 terror attacks in January (Hadera, Jerusalem, Tel Aviv), 6 in February (Mehola, IDF base, Jerusalem, Maccabim checkpoint), 9 attacks in March (Netanya,



Ashdod, Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Kfar Saba, and Efrat). Most of these terror attacks were directed at civilians in Israeli cities. This was the background for the brigades inclusion in the U.S. terror organizations list (27 March 2002).

#### Document 1

"Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades"  
(Fatah emblem)

The Palestinian National Liberation Movement "Fatah"



#### Letter of Gratitude and Appreciation

The Palestinian National Liberation Movement, "Fatah" / "Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades" in the southern area wishes to express its deep gratitude to the fighting brother, Mahmud Jabari (*familiar Fatah activist*) for his cooperation with the fighters of this people and for his loyal bond with the homeland and its revolution.

[Click to enlarge original document in Arabic](#)

All of us together on the path towards an independent state and its capital the holy Jerusalem.

Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades - Southern Area  
(The stamp of "Fatah" and "Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades")

#### Document 2

Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades Palestinian National  
Liberation Movement

"Fatah"

To: The honorable brother commander Abu Amar,  
President of the State of Palestine - May God protect and  
preserve him.

Via: The fighting brother, Nabil Amru, the Minister for  
Parliamentary Affairs - May the Almighty protect him.

#### Subject: Request for Financial Aid

The brothers whose names are mentioned below are among the active members of the movement [the Fatah movement] and have played a role during these events. Some of them are wanted and others are held in the prisons of the [Israeli] occupation and they are:



[Click to enlarge original document in Arabic](#)

1. The family of the prisoner Nabil Hamad Mustafa al Birawi (Note: served in the General Intelligence Apparatus. In his interrogation, he admitted to taking part in a shooting attack against an IDF base in Suseya, the southern part of the Hebron mountains and towards the Suseya bypass road.)
2. The family of the prisoner Nasser Hussein Ud Abu Qubeitah (Note: served as a policeman. Arrested for shooting at the Israeli settlement of Suseya).
3. Muhammad Mahmud Ali al-Najarah.
4. Jamal Ismail Mustafa Qisiyah.
5. Juad Jamil Khalil Hushiah (Note: PA National Security Apparatus activist suspected of perpetrating the shooting attack in Suseya).
6. Bakhr Khalil Shahadah al-Najar.

With the greatest respect,

Your sons,

Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades - Southern Area  
(The joint stamp of "Fatah" and "Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades")

#### Document 3: Poster

Only those who believed in Allah and His emissaries are the righteous who shall rest under their Lord's shadow and will be rewarded with the light of truth. (Koranic verse)

Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades emblem      Fatah emblem

The National Palestinian Liberation Movement, Fatah, and its military wing, the "Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades" in Palestine, is escorting its casualty, the commander hero on his last trip.

Majdi Musa Tayb Jaradat

*(Hero of the Special Operations, who carried out the Umm el Fahm operation, whom the treacherous Zionist hand murdered on 6 November 2001).*



Click to enlarge original document in Arabic

#### Document 4

In the Name of the All-merciful Allah

"Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades"

(Fatah emblem)

The Palestinian National Liberation Movement "Fatah"

The fighting brother Marwan Barghouti, secretary of the Fatah movement

We, in the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, Southern Area, request of you to cooperate with the brother carrying this letter, since we have requested him to establish a communications channel between us and yourself, so that we can handle several complicated problems that arose in our sector of the struggle, at this stage of our national struggle.



Click to enlarge original document in Arabic

Together on the path towards an independent state with Jerusalem as its capital.

Your sons,

In the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades - Southern Area

*(a stamp of "the Palestinian National Liberation Movement - Fatah" and "Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades")*

#### The Integration of Women and Children in the Perpetration of Terrorist Attacks

1. The most prominent cases of this phenomenon are the terrorists Wafa Idris, a resident of Ramallah, who carried out a suicide attack in Jerusalem on 27 January 2002 in which one Israeli was killed and 90 wounded, and Darin Abu Aysha from Beit Wazan in Samaria who blew herself up on 27 February 2002 near the Maccabim checkpoint. 2 Israeli policemen were wounded in this attack.

2. An additional case of a woman suicide terrorist is that of Ayyat Al Ahras, aged 18 from the Deheisha refugee camp near Bethlehem, who carried out the suicide attack in a supermarket in the Jerusalem suburb of Kiryat Hayovel on 29 March 2002. 2 Israeli civilians were killed in this attack and 22 wounded.

3. The last suicide attack by a woman was perpetrated on 12 April 2002. The suicide terrorist, Andalib Suleiman, a Tanzim activist aged 21 from Bethlehem, blew herself up in the Machane Yehuda market in Jerusalem. 6 Israeli civilians were killed in the attack, including two foreign workers from China, and over 60 Israelis were wounded.

4. In 2 additional cases, Palestinian women who were about to carry out suicide attacks were arrested by security forces prior to executing their plans.

5. On 11 April 2002, one day after the IDF withdrawal from Tulkarm, the terrorist Safa Al Qudsi, a Tanzim activist aged 26, divorced and mother to a daughter was found in her parents' home. She was about to carry out a suicide attack in Israel dressed as a pregnant woman.

6. When IDF troops entered Bethlehem during Operation Defensive Shield, Shirin Rabiye, a girl aged 15, was taken in for questioning. She admitted to having been recruited by her uncle, a Tanzim activist, in order to perpetrate a suicide attack inside Israel.

7. These are not the only terrorist attacks in which Palestinian women were involved. On 17 January 2001, an Israeli teenager, Ophir Rahum, was



kidnapped and murdered with the involvement of Amana Mona, a journalist from Ramallah who belonged to the Fatah.

8. On 9 August 2001, a suicide attack was carried out in the Sbarro restaurant in downtown Jerusalem. The suicide terrorist was driven to the location by Ahla'am Tamimi, also a journalist of Jordanian descent who resides in Ramallah, and also engaged in intelligence collection for the attack. Ahla'am was also responsible for the laying of an explosive charge which was hidden in a beer bottle in a Jerusalem supermarket on 30 July 2001.

9. On 3 August 2001, there was an attempt to lay an explosive charge in the Tel Aviv Central Bus Station of Iman Asha from Nablus.

10. On 31 August 2001, an explosive charge carried by Abir Hamdan from Nablus exploded during a trip from Tulkarm to Nablus, apparently a "work accident" in the framework of preparations for an attack in a restaurant in Hadera.

11. Recently, the Palestinian terrorist organizations have increased the use of youths in the perpetration of suicide attacks and terrorist acts. In the last nine months, Palestinian children were involved in suicide attacks or in plans to carry out such attacks. Below are a number of examples in which Palestinian youths have been involved in terrorist attacks:

a. Jamil Hamid, a boy aged 15 from Bethlehem who was recruited by the Fatah organization, blew himself up on 31 March 2002 near the clinic in Efrat. 6 Israeli civilians were injured in the explosion.

b. Anwar Hamed, a boy aged 17 from Rafah who was sent to carry out a suicide attack against a vehicle convoy transporting IDF soldiers in the Gaza Strip. Anwar, an uneducated illiterate youth has engaged in drug trafficking, prior to his joining the Fatah.

12. The personal characteristics of the above youths demonstrate once again the cynical exploitation and use made by Palestinian terror organizations of children and unstable persons in order to carry out mass attacks against Israel.

13. It is of note that the PA does not act against this phenomenon and continues persistently to turn a blind eye so that Palestinian boys and girls become a "self-sacrifice" of the whole Palestinian society.

#### **Chapter V - The Palestinian Authority's Possession of Arms in Violation of International Agreements**

1. In the framework of the agreements signed between Israel and the Palestinians, the Palestinian Authority (PA) is committed to maintaining armed forces for internal security purposes and to limiting the arms in its possession. The PA also signed international agreements which clearly define the types of arms and ammunition which its forces can hold. In practice, PA officials have engaged, under the direct instructions of Arafat, in the violation of these agreements since the second half of the 1990s.

2. According to the interim accords signed between Israel and the PA (on 28 September 1995), Palestinian policemen were permitted to carry rifles, pistols and machine-guns. It was also decided that the Palestinian Police would maintain an updated list of the arms carried by its personnel. Therefore, the PA's security forces are not permitted to possess anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapon systems, mortars and ammunition for these systems.

3. The arms smuggling activities into the PA areas, as well as the indigenous production of various types of weapon systems which are banned according to agreements, were planned from the outset by the PA leadership based on a strategic concept regarding a potential conflict with Israel. This concept was formulated and implemented during the second half of the 1990s, i.e. at least 3 years before the start of the present conflict between Israel and the PA in October 2000.

4. Special emphasis was placed by PA elements on the obtainment of anti-tank, anti-aircraft and artillery weapons. During 2001, and especially following the IDF's entry into the PA areas in March 2002, clear evidence was uncovered regarding this continuing process in which an arms and ammunition arsenal had been amassed in violation of agreements concluded with Israel.

5. Senior PA officials engaged in these activities over a long period. The connecting link in the arms smuggling attempts and the arms build-up is Fuad Shubaki, Arafat's close associate and confidante, whose formal role is Chief Financial Officer. Shubaki's name rose to the headlines at the beginning of 2002



with the exposure of his involvement in the attempt to smuggle arms from Iran aboard the Karine-A ship. Shubaki continued his business dealings as usual in the Mukata'a compound, even after the exposure of his involvement in the Karine-A affair, and he was "arrested" by Arafat following this operation.

6. From documents captured by the IDF in the Mukata'a compound in Ramallah, it is clear that the PA is violating the international agreements which it signed. A computer file containing tables regarding arms and ammunition inventories (dated 1999) which was found in the PA Financial Directorate's offices, details the weapons which are to be found in PA facilities. Among other things, the table clearly mentions 7 RPG-7 launchers and 11 rockets (bombs) for the launchers. In addition, various types of heavy machine-guns which are also prohibited by the agreements are in a storage depot.

7. The second document is an approval for the dispatch in practice of RPG-7 anti-tank launchers from PA facilities to the PA's general security forces. The approval was given in November 2001, on official paper of the Financial Directorate headed by Fuad Shubaki. The person receiving the approval was the officer responsible for administration and arms in the office of Haj Ismail Zarzur, head of the General Security Directorate and Commander of the National Security Forces in the West Bank.

8. During March 2002, the IDF captured many weapon systems in the Mukata'a compound. These arms include 2 RPG-7 anti-tank launchers, 43 rockets (bombs) of various types for these launchers, and counterfeit Israeli currency notes.

9. PA officials in Ramallah succeeded over the past years in amassing launchers and bombs and distributed them to Palestinian Security Forces in order to attack IDF armored tanks and APCs.

#### **Fuad Shubaki and Arms Smuggling**

10. Shubaki is a close associate and confidante of Arafat, and accompanied him on official visits to Arab states. He also held independent meetings in states willing to support Palestinian terror efforts, such as Iraq, which he visited in November 2001.

11. The arms smuggling network established by Shubaki includes Iran and Iraq (the "axis of evil" states). Shubaki also engaged in other sectors and he is involved in arms smuggling from Jordan and Egypt too, by means of underground tunnels in the Rafah area in the southern Gaza Strip.

12. Fuad Shubaki coordinates the funding of Fatah elements perpetrating terrorist attacks under cover names. In an additional letter addressed to him, an ambitious plan was presented of the "Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades" (a cover name for Fatah's operational wing in the West Bank) to construct a workshop for heavy weapons production. Among other things, the intention was to acquire a lathe (for this purpose the organization required a sum of \$25,000) and a milling machine (\$40,000), these two items of machinery are needed for metal processing in the production process of arms such as artillery rockets and mortars.

13. The "Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades" which is funded by the PA, also engages in the production of artillery rockets which are similar to the QASSAM rockets produced by Hamas. The rockets are banned, as explained above, according to international agreements signed by the PA.

14. The investment required for the arms workshop is approx. \$100,000 and the current operation expenses is estimated to be about \$15,000. It is no wonder that these requests were forwarded directly to Shubaki, the man personally in charge of acquisition and finance.

15. Palestinian attempts to smuggle significant quantities of arms were exposed and foiled by Israel during the past year. In May 2001, the Santorini ship was captured in the Mediterranean Sea and was found to be carrying, inter alia, SA-7 anti-aircraft missiles, RPG-7 anti-tank launchers, mortars and artillery rockets. The ship sailed from Lebanon in the service of the PFLP-GC organization of Ahmed Jibril (which enjoys Syrian patronage), with a cargo destined for Palestinian elements, including PA elements in the Gaza Strip. The ship previously carried out two smuggling attempts on behalf of the Hizballah organization.

16. In January 2002, the Karine-A ship was intercepted in the Red Sea while sailing from the Iranian coast with a large shipment for the PA. 80 well sealed submersible containers carried a large variety of weapon systems, with an overall weight of approx. 50 tons. This affair also emphasized the PA effort to obtain anti-tank launchers, mortars and artillery rockets. Part of the anti-tank



weapons aboard the Santorini, also originated from Iran.

17. It transpires that PA elements were involved in the obtainment of anti-tank launchers and their ammunition, which they are not permitted to possess, and their distribution to the security forces. As it appears from the captured documents, they were most careful in documenting the weapons - but not according to the text of the agreement with Israel, which prohibits the PA from possessing such arms and ammunition.

**Captured PA Document regarding Arms and Ammunition Inventory in PA Facilities**

Weapons Type	Quantity
Kalashnikov	727
MP-5	20
NATO	52
G-3	19
Siminov	2
Dakatirov	3
Guryanov	1
BKC	2
B-7	7
B-7 bombs	11
M-16	20
<b>Total</b>	<b>852</b>

Notes:

1. B-7 - The intention is to RPG-7 anti-tank launchers.
2. B-7 bombs - The intention is to rockets for these launchers.
3. Guryanov and PKC are heavy machine-guns which the PA is not permitted to possess.

**The Allocation of Prohibited Arms from PA Offices to its Forces**

The document captured by the IDF in the offices of the Financial Directorate in the Mukata'a in Ramallah is handwritten on paper of the PA - The General Security Financial Directorate of the Northern Districts ("The West Bank"). The following is a translation of the document:

Date: 18 November 2001

I, Mukadem (Lt. Colonel) Abd Al-Latif Abd Al Rahim have received the following items from the Financial Directorate:

R.B.G.-7 bombs - 20 only.

B-7 launcher propellant charge - 7 only.

And thus I am the undersigned - Mukadem Abd Al Latif Naji.

Notes:

1. Mukadem (Lt. Colonel) Abd AL Latif Naji is the person responsible for money and administration in the office of Haj Ismail Tsarzur, the head of the National Security Apparatus in the West Bank. This Lt. Colonel is also responsible for the arms of the National Security Apparatus.
2. The intention is to rockets and propellant charges for RPG-7 anti-tank launchers.

**PA Efforts to Obtain Arms Prohibited by International Agreements**

The following table lists the types and quantities of arms carried aboard ships during 2001/02 whose cargoes were destined for PA elements, as well as additional attempts of PA elements - official elements or elements financed and supported by the PA - to obtain arms banned according to international agreements. The table does not list all the arms captured aboard these ships, but only specific types - anti-tanks weapons, anti-aircraft missiles, mortars and artillery rockets (Katyushas).

	Santorini	Karine-A	Additional Attempts
Anti-Tank Weapon Systems Banned by International Agreements which			

were Captured in the Mukata'a Compound in Ramallah



30 Units of PG-7 Anti-Tank Rocket



5 Units of PG-7M Anti-Tank Rocket



8 Units of OG-7 Anti-Personnel Rocket

#### Chapter VI - Cooperation Between the PA and Terror-Sponsoring States

1. The PA holds contacts with the "axis of evil" states - Iran and Iraq, as well as with Saudi Arabia. The accumulating information, based, inter alia, on captured documents, indicates that the PA receives money, arms and moral support from these states.

##### The Ties with Iran

2. The major role which the PA and its apparatuses played in the armed struggle against Israel brought about a change in Iran's attitude towards it. If until the Intifada, Iran viewed the PA as a "traitor" which seeks a political settlement with Israel, following the latest confrontation, the Palestinian apparatuses are considered by Tehran as the leaders of the violent struggle. On this background, the Iranian leader published (Al Mastakabal, September 2000), a religious decree permitting cooperation with the PA and Fatah. In our assessment, in the future the Iranian policy towards the PA will depend on its policies and activities towards Israel, and the PA's return to the political track will lead to the severing of the ties established with Iran during the past year.

3. The improved relations was prominently reflected in the cooperation during the Karine-A affair, which constituted only one expression of the continuing Iranian effort, which was significantly enhanced since the outbreak of the Intifada - to smuggle arms and force multipliers into the PA areas. This in order to create a "Lebanonization" of the conflict; escalate the confrontation between Israel and the Palestinians and disrupt any attempt to calm the situation and stabilize a cease fire. All this, in the framework of Iran's call to implement the "Lebanese model" in the PA as an essential stage on the path to Israel's destruction, in the more distant future.

4. On this background, Iran expresses persistent and declared support for suicide attacks (in an interview to Der Spiegel on 24 September 2001, Foreign Minister Kharazi stated that the suicide attack in the Dolphinarium disco in Tel Aviv was not an act of terror since Israel is an "occupying power". Ayatollah Al-ma Fadal Lankarani - a senior cleric in the Shi'ite world who resides in Qom and is identified with the conservative camp, also published a religious decree on 7 January according to which since the Palestinians have no other choice than to endanger their lives in suicide attacks in order to defend their state, such activities are permitted.

5. The bottom line - Iran draws much encouragement from the PA's turn to the route of terror (according to its method "legitimate resistance") and perceives the situation as an historical "window of opportunities" to achieve its ideological



goals (the destruction of Israel, which the Iranian regime continues to espouse) and its strategic goals (Israel's weakening and containment in the framework of Iran's attempts for regional hegemony). Since September 11 2001, the escalation in the conflict serves Iran in an additional aspect, as reflected in the words of Majlis member and Presidential advisor, Mohtashemi Pur (23 April 2002), who claimed that the US will not attack Iran and Iraq as long as the Palestinian crisis continues; and therefore Iran must "increase the strength" of the Palestinians and "prevent Israel from any possibility of solving the crisis in the Middle East".

### **The Ties with Iraq**

#### **Stronger Iraqi-PA Ties**

6. Since the end of 2001, Iraqi-PA ties have expanded. The convergence of their interests generates practical cooperation in both the political and the military realms. The equation appears to be comprised of terrorism, arms and oil.

7. Iraq has a distinct interest in causing an escalation in the Israel-PA confrontation, therefore it rides the latest wave of suicide attacks in Israel. The escalation in the situation serves the Iraqi interest: it draws the attention from the Gulf to the PA, turns the Arab World against Israel and postpones the US-initiated campaign against Iraq.

8. The Iraqis draw a simple equation, and this is how their actions in the present crisis should be viewed: on one side the US and "the Zionist Entity", vs. Iraq and Palestine on the other side.

9. Palestinian speakers describe this similarly:

*"The Palestinian conflict and the Palestinians' steadfastness will affect - if not all of the US' plans - at least those plans directed against Iraq, or at least their timing. This provides us with a safety margin that enables consolidating a more determined Arab stance for protecting Palestine and Iraq".* Nabil Sha'ath (15 March 2002).

10. The Iraqis have done and still do all they can to disrupt the US effort to stabilize the situation in the PA. The Middle East visits made by Vice President Cheney and General Zinni were called by the Iraqis in March 2002 as *"vicious and failing tours having one goal - to deal Iraq and the Palestinian Intifada a blow... These are two facets of one American aggressive action"*. According to the Iraqis, Gen. Zinni was sent to the Middle East *"in a false trick by which President Bush wishes to present the US as one interested in reducing the Zionist violence against the Palestinian people... in a miserable attempt to moderate the Arab stance which is growing extreme against the US"* (these descriptions were included in an analytical article in the Al Jamhuriyah newspaper, 13 March 2002).

#### **Encouraging the Suicide Attacks**

11. In recent months, Saddam Hussein has openly praised the suicide terrorists. In 3 consecutive statements - in an Iraqi cabinet meeting (January 2002, cited on Iraqi Television), in meetings he held with chiefs of tribes (December 2001) and clergymen (March 2002) - he praised the suicide actions, including the suicide attack in Jerusalem carried out by Waffa Idris, a 16 year old Palestinian girl. Saddam declared his intention to build a memorial in her name. According to Saddam, these attacks protect the principles of the Arab Nation and the Palestinian People.

12. At the end of the visit in Iraq of Faruq Qadumi, Head of the PLO Political Bureau, (March 2001), it was announced by Tareq Aziz, the Iraqi Foreign Minister, that Saddam Hussein decided to raise the grant given to Intifada 'victims' to \$25,000 (instead of the earlier \$10,000).

13. The sum to be donated to the family of a killed Palestinian by the Iraqi aid is comparable to an average salary in the PA for 5 years.

14. *To the list of Saddam Hussein's actions and statements in the last decade should be added the fact that he is one of the few Arab leaders to publicly justify the most horrific terrorist attacks, directed against innocent civilians.*

15. In addition to the direct support of the PA, Iraq encourages terrorism by operating pro-Iraqi terrorist organizations in the West Bank. To this end, Baghdad has revived in the last two years the PLF/Abu-Al-Abbas organization in the PA areas - it recruited and trained Al Abbas activists in camps in Iraq, equipped them with arms and sent them to carry out terrorist attacks in Haifa (April 2001) and the West Bank together with Hamas activists (July 2001). The



arms smuggling and attempts to infiltrate activists are apparently carried out from Jordanian territory. The PLF/Abu-Al-Abbas is the organization which carried out the terrorist attack on the Achille Lauro passenger ship, in which a US citizen was murdered.

16. The Iraqis openly seek to encourage the waves of terror against Israel, and especially suicide attacks. As long as Arafat does not operate to stop this terrorism he plays into the hands of the Iraqi game.

#### Arms for the Palestinians

17. Since the beginning of 2001, the Iraqis openly encourage arms transfers to the PA. The Iraqi proposal to the Arab League conference in Cairo (2 April 2002) included an explicit paragraph concerning "support of the Palestinian Intifada with all types of arms, primarily antitank weapons through Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon". This proposition continues Saddam Hussein's words (Iraqi News Agency, January 2001) that had the Palestinians had antitank weapons, they would have succeeded to destroy the Israeli armor and prevent it from reaching the Palestinian towns. "If the Arabs had wanted - and that is simple - it would have required only turning a blind eye to the arrival of such weapons".

18. Since January 2001, the Iraqi President has publicly emphasized the Palestinians' right to procure arms and the duty of Arab states to assist them in this effort. This implies that Iraq openly calls for the violation of the international agreements which the PA signed - agreements forbidding the procurement of antitank arms. (Recently captured documents clearly indicate that the PA procured RPG-7 antitank rocket launchers, forbidden by the international agreements which the PA had signed).

#### Iraqi Oil Finances the Terrorist Activity

19. Iraq is acting diligently to undermine the international sanctions regime imposed on it. In its efforts to export oil outside the international inspection envelope it operates vis-a-vis neighboring states and other Middle East elements.

20. At the same time, Iraq views the oil weapon as a means to aid the Palestinians. Saddam Hussein's declaration is a public expression of this approach. However, we can assume that funds accumulated from oil smuggling in recent years enable the Iraqis to aid the Palestinians with money, smuggled weapons and encouragement of suicide bombers.

21. Iraq is indeed a state supporting terrorism, and Iraqi oil finances this support.

#### Iraqi Financial Aid to the Palestinians

22. The Ba'ath Party representative (the ruling party in Iraq, has branches in the PA areas) publicly expressed a month ago ("Al Quds", 6 March 2002) the deepening Iraqi support of the PA. According to him, Iraq has transferred to the PA a sum of \$12 million as aid.

23. The PA views the Iraqi channel as an important economic support. PA representatives (including Azam Al Ahmed, who is in charge of liaison with Iraq) visited Iraq on numerous occasions in the last two years, in order to obtain financial aid. This aid is given to the families of Palestinians killed and wounded in the Intifada.

24. Ads thanking Saddam Hussein for this support appear in the Palestinian press, and serve the Iraqi propaganda machine, which encourages terrorism and endeavors to inflame the PA.

#### Palestinian Ads Praising Iraqi Support

The family of the Shahid Imad Adib Badr Aldaya expresses gratitude and appreciation to the Chairman Yasser Arafat and President Saddam Hussein, for their respectable stance concerning our Shahid and those wounded in the defense of Al Aqsa ("Al Hayat al Jadidah", December 2000)

The relatives of the Shahids Amjad Hussein and





Fadi Sabaya express gratitude and appreciation to the Iraqi President and his great people. Jenin - relatives of the Shahids express their utmost gratitude and congratulations to the Mujahed, warrior leader, the President of Iraq Saddam Hussein, may God keep him safe. (Al Quds, January 2001)



**Much gratitude and appreciation to the honorable President Saddam Hussein and members of Arab Liberation Front.**

The father of the Shahid, his brothers and sisters, the Abu Farhah family and his relatives and uncles on the mother and father side, grandfather and mother on behalf of the entire Palestinian people express their deep gratitude to the Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, may God keep him safe, the symbol of nationalism, patriotism and Arab determination, for the honest condolences he offered to our Shahid Palestine Muhammad Raab Qassem Abu Talab and the families of all Shahids, as well as his great help in Palestine. Gratitude to our Iraqi brothers, who give blood and money for the victory of the Palestinian people, the freedom and independence and liberation of Palestine. We also express to our friends in the Arab Liberation Front, Jenin Area much gratitude for their participation and national determination, the condolences they offered, material and moral support. *Together, until the liberation of the holy Jerusalem with the help of Allah.*



**The Ties with Saudi Arabia**

26. During Operation Defensive Shield, documents were captured that indicate *direct and systematic Saudi financial support of the families of Palestinian terrorists*, including the families of suicide terrorists who carried out lethal attacks inside Israel. In addition, documents were found that show direct Saudi aid to the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) and Hamas, two organizations that have been declared terror organizations by the US.

27. One of the documents captured is a table found in the "Tulkarm Charity Association", detailing the 10th payments cycle to "casualties of Intifada Al Quds" in the West Bank (in total, the payment cycle consisted of 2,040,000 Saudi Riyal, approx. \$545,000). The table lists payments made to 102 families of terrorists who died during 2001, each family receiving 20,000 Riyal (approx. \$5340). According to the table, the funds were transferred to the families through the Arab Bank. They were handed over to beneficiaries whose names and ID numbers are mentioned in the table.

28. The implication of this document is that a suicide terrorist embarking on a terrorist attack knows that his family will receive continuous aid from the Saudi regime after his death, by means of the Saudi committee for support of the Intifada.

29. It is of note that the Saudi aid does not only include the support of terrorist families. According to additional captured documents (Palestinian intelligence apparatus reports), the Saudis transferred *direct aid to extremist Islamic organizations* (Hamas and PIJ).

**Chapter VII - Corruption in the PA**

According to accumulating information, corruption is rampant in the PA's power centers. Below are a number of examples:

a. Administrative irregularities (the Deputy Chairman of the Palestinian legislative council) detailed the PA's shortcomings: "Key officials in the PA suffer from a lack of reliability and talent, many unneeded without need, the appointment of family relations, waste, a policy of monopolies, corruption, the stealing of equipment and money and the phenomenon of "hidden unemployment".

Sa'eb Arekat "As the raiser of budgets from states contributing to the infrastructure development of the local authorities, I am trying to create total transparency between the donor state and the project taking place, by a direct connection between it and the contractor, without middlemen who put their hands in the money being used".

b. The management of the Palestinian economy by monopolies in order to



accumulate financial resources outside the official framework and reward PA senior officials and their families (on the eve of the confrontation, the scope of revenues from the monopolies was estimated to be approx. \$300 million, with the business company of Muhammad Rashid, Arafat's economic advisor, controls the major monopolies including cement, fuel, the casino, the flour mill in Gaza and economic projects in the tourist and industrial realms.

k. An unjust distribution of aid funds between the different strata of the population. While the Palestinian population suffers from economic predicament, senior PA officials enjoy a high standard of living. Abu Ala completed the construction of a villa in Jericho at a cost of \$1.5 million. The villa's appearance is ostentatious and stimulated sharp criticism from the local population. Arafat distributes funds to PA senior officials for personal needs, including \$50,000 for the wedding of the daughter of "minister" Nabil Amar, the doubling of the living expenses of the son of "minister" Nabil Sha'ath who is studying in France and \$100,000 for the deputy in charge of the information portfolio for construction of a home. Residents from Deir El Balah whose homes were destroyed did not receive the Arafat grant of \$2,000 promised to them 4 months ago; Arafat's grant of \$600 to the unemployed financed by salaries from PA employees was distributed by the Ministry of Labor to cronies who are not unemployed.

l. Salary delays and theft - the payment of salaries to the public sector according to the low exchange rate of the dollar: The salaries of January 2002 were paid according to an exchange rate of 3.7 shekels to the dollar; A Gaza resident: "PA elements demanded \$2,000 from me, in order for my daughter who works as a doctor in the European hospital in Khan Yunis will receive her salary in an organized manner, the security apparatuses in the Karni crossing pay carriers working on the Israel side of the border salaries according to rates in the PA territories, while the salaries of the carriers received from Israeli manpower companies, which are calculated according to salary rates in Israel, find their way to their pockets.

m. The levying of taxes and special payments on the population in order to gain profits and supplement income. The money taken for medical treatment in the Sheikh Zayyad hospital in Ramallah is transferred to the pockets of senior PA officials, including the Province Governor; the Palestinian Ministry of Transportation issues licenses for short periods in order to profit from renewal of licenses; the police in Hebron collect from vegetable stall owners sums of money in return for continuing their trade "No one who earns \$800 will be hurt by \$50".

n. Utilization of humanitarian aid received from abroad for profits (the Palestinian Ministry of Agriculture granted Beduin cattle owners from Ramallah money vouchers, a donation from a European country in order to purchase barley. The ministry concluded with a barley salesman a price of \$800 per ton instead of \$600, with the difference pocketed by senior officials in the Ministry of Agriculture; Tanzim elements from Bethlehem forcefully seized food distributed by UNRWA and decided by themselves who would receive the aid.

o. Forceful contributions and false arrest of businessmen by the PA security forces and their release in exchange for money and bribes. A senior businessman from Tulkarm was forced to pay \$100,000 for the release of his brother who was arrested by the security apparatuses for collaboration with Israel. A Christian businessman paid \$5,000 for the release of his brother arrested by counter-intelligence apparatus personnel.

p. The non-payment to PA suppliers. A gas station owner in Jericho stated that the security apparatuses are systematically not paying him for fuel and when they were not permitted to fill up, they began to make threats.

q. The expropriation of lands arbitrarily. PA elements seized lands of the Orthodox Church in the Bethlehem area while using violence, forged documents and bribes. On some occasions, there was cooperation between church officials and the PA.

r. Subversion of justice by bribery of and threats to the lives of judges. A senior Tanzim activist who was involved in the rape and murder of a young woman from Bethlehem was set free after the judge was bribed.

#### Appendix

#### (Partial) Characteristics of the Terrorist Infrastructure which developed in



the PA

#### Jenin - The Capital of the Palestinian Suicide Terrorists

1. In Jenin, and especially in the refugee camp in its outskirts, an extensive infrastructure of various terrorist organizations existed prior to the IDF Defensive Wall Operation. These organizations cooperated in "exporting" killing and suicide attacks to Israel. An expression of this can be found in the following excerpt from an internal Fatah document:

2. "(Jenin refugee camp) is characterized by an exceptional presence of fighting men who take the initiative (on behalf of) the national activity. Nothing will beat them and nothing worries them. Therefore, they are ready for self-sacrifice with all the means. And therefore, it is not strange, that Jenin (has been termed) the suiciders capital" (A'simat Al-Istashidin, in Arabic). (From a report of the Fatah movement in Jenin refugee camp addressed to Marwan Barghouti, 25 September 2001)

3. Jenin, "the suiciders capital" "exported during the violent confrontation 28 suicide attacks (most were implemented and some were foiled), and many more terrorist attacks. This terrorism, perpetrated by the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), Fatah and Hamas, resulted in the death of many dozens of Israelis and the wounding of hundreds.

4. Previous to the IDF Defensive Shield Operation, terror infrastructures of various organizations were concentrated in Jenin, mainly in its refugee camp. Below are general characteristics of the infrastructures of the three leading terrorist organizations:

a. Hamas - In Jenin and the surrounding villages, a Hamas network operated which was responsible for the perpetration of a number of lethal suicide attacks inside Israel (the most recent in Haifa on 31 March 2002 in which 15 Israelis were killed). The Jenin network operated in cooperation with many and diverse operational elements in the Hamas movement, as well as with the leadership abroad. This network was severely damaged following IDF activity in Tubas (on 5 April) in which 6 major operational activists from the Hamas were killed, including Qis Adwan (head of the Hamas infrastructure in Jenin who directed suicide attacks in Israel in which dozens of Israelis were killed, and Sa'ed Awad (head of the QASSAM-2 rocket project in Samaria, whose death impaired the rocket production infrastructure in Samaria). At the same time, additional senior activists such as Nasser Jerar (involved in the planning of spectacular attacks in Israel and the West Bank) and Jamal Abu Al Hija (head of Hamas in Jenin who directs terror activities and is involved in the transfer of money for financing such activities), are still at large and are active.

b. PIJ - Until the IDF operation, the PIJ infrastructure in Jenin was the strongest in the PA territories, mostly due to the massive financial aid it received for its activities from the PIJ leadership in Syria (according to captured documents). The PIJ infrastructure suffered a severe blow with the death of the head of the military infrastructure in Jenin, Mahmud Tu'albe (involved in the perpetration of terrorist attacks, including inside Israel), and the arrest of senior operational activists. Amongst the senior activists arrested, the most prominent are Ali Safuri (involved in the direction of a large number of terrorist attacks, including suicide and killing attacks inside Israel) and Thabet Mardawi (directed a large number of terrorist attacks, including suicide and killing attacks inside Israel).

c. Fatah/Al Aqsa Brigades/Tanzim - The Fatah network in Jenin (with all its names) served as a central terror focus. Local Fatah activists who according to captured documents were in close contact with Marwan Barghouti, perpetrated many shooting and explosive charges attacks in the West Bank and inside Israel, against the IDF and Israeli civilians. The last of these attacks was the suicide attack in a coffee shop in Tel Aviv on 30 March 2002 (one Israeli civilian killed and 45 wounded). Amongst the senior Fatah activists, the most notable are Jamal Hawil (responsible for direction of lethal terrorist attacks, arrested by the IDF) and Ita Abu Ramila (Fatah and Preventive Security Apparatus activist in Jenin).



5. Expressions of the scope and power of the terror infrastructures in the Jenin refugee camp, in Jenin and in the nearby villages (Qabatiyah and Tubas for example) can be found during Operation Defensive Wall: The intense fighting in the refugee camps which exacted a heavy price from the IDF, the large quantities of arms and explosives laboratories captured (see Appendix A) and the high number of senior and junior terrorist activists arrested or killed - all these are evidence of the depth of the terror infrastructure in the Jenin region.



**Explosives Laboratory  
found in Jenin**

6. During the fighting, a large number of gunmen in small squads operated in the Jenin refugee camp from inside civilian buildings. Unlike in other towns, senior PIJ activists remained in the camp, stubbornly fighting against the IDF. The instructions they received were clear: There must be no surrender and you must spill as much as blood as possible from the IDF soldiers. Contrary to the Palestinian claims of a massacre ostensibly carried out by IDF soldiers in the camp, in which framework 500-600 innocent civilians were killed, in practice, according to IDF reports (correct for 16 April), 46 bodies were found in the refugee camps, 44 bodies of gunmen/fighters and 2 bodies of civilians).

7. It is important to emphasize that the terror activists who transformed the refugee camp into their "fortress" made cynical use of the local civilian population:

- a. They operated from inside populated houses, knowing that this would restrict the IDF reaction and with the hidden hope that severe casualties to civilians will damage Israel's image and lead to international pressure on it. (according to a press report, there were 1,500 civilians in Jenin refugee camp during the fighting and they did not leave the camp.
- b. They activated explosive charges whose detonation caused the destruction of homes and property of civilians. Thabet Mardawi, a senior PIJ activist from Jenin, admitted during his interrogation that during the battle with IDF soldiers in Jenin refugee camp, he exploded gas cylinders which destroyed homes in which civilians lived.

#### **Characteristics of the Terror Infrastructure in Jenin and its Refugee Camp According to Captured Documents**

8. The captured documents unveil the extensive scope of the terror infrastructures of the various organizations and the terrorist attacks originating from the Jenin area, and principally from Jenin refugee camp. Below are the main characteristics of this terror infrastructure according to captured documents examined so far:

a. The depth of the human terror infrastructure in Jenin. In a Fatah report from Jenin refugee camp addressed to Marwan Barghouti, it is written that from all the districts, Jenin district is "overflowing with fighters of tremendous quality and quantity" who belong to Fatah and the other national and Islamic movements. The report states that Israel defines Jenin as a "hornet's nest" and this name is indeed correct since there are many youths in Jenin who are willing to sacrifice themselves, and therefore Jenin has been called the "Suicides Capital" (and indeed many suicide and killing attacks which resulted in the deaths of dozens of Israelis and the wounding of hundreds were "exported" to Israel by the terror infrastructure in Jenin).

b. The mention of terrorist attacks, including killing and suicide attacks which were directed and perpetrated by the terror infrastructure in Jenin in order to weaken Israel. The captured documents mention attacks carried out against soldiers and civilians which originated in Jenin and the names of the organizations and terrorists who planned them. For example:

1) Thabet Azmi Mardawi, a senior activist in the PIJ military arm, of whom it is written that he "participated in the preparation of a few suicide acts" (Mardawi is now under arrest in Israel. He is responsible for a large number of terrorist attacks, including suicide attacks inside Israel such as the suicide attack in Binyamina [16 July 2001] and the bus explosion in Wadi Ara [20 March 2002]).

2) Ali Suleyman Al-Safuri, a senior activist in the PIJ military arm, of whom it is written that he "has a prominent role in the preparation of explosive belts and charges" (Al-Safuri is under arrest in Israel. He is



responsible, amongst other things, for the suicide attacks in Binyamina [16 July 2001] and Hadera (28 October 2001).

3) Muhammad Salah Salim Yassin, a senior activist in the PIJ military arm, of whom it is written that he "participated in the perpetration of a few suicide acts" (Yassin was killed by the IDF on 7 March 2002 and was indeed involved in killing attacks inside Israel).

4) Wa'el Ahmad Jalannah from the PIJ (he is known to have driven his partner to the suicide attack in "Paris Square" in Haifa [26 February 2002] and succeeded in escaping to Jenin refugee camp). According to a captured document, the two activists departed from Jenin refugee camp. According to the document, Jalannah succeeded in fleeing to Jenin (after the attack in Haifa was foiled and his partner was arrested).

5) A captured document mentions the "murder of a settler" and wounding of 20 others during activity of the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades originating from Jenin.

6) A captured document mentions the implementation of the "Umm el Fahm act" in "Israel's depth" which was perpetrated by the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades (the intention is to the firing carried out on 28 April 2001 at a car in Umm Al Fahm. An Israeli civilian was killed in the attack and another was wounded).

7) An additional captured document mentions a suicide attack in Afula in which PA intelligence apparatus activists from Jenin were involved together with the PIJ (the intention is to the killing attack in Afula on 27 November 2001 perpetrated by the PIJ and Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades).

h. The existence of a strong terror infrastructure which was built by the PIJ and Hamas, which depends, amongst other things, on intensive use of its financial resources. According to the documents, the large amounts of money flowing to Jenin from Damascus (see below) enable PIJ and Hamas to recruit to their ranks youths with motivation, provide them with a monthly salary and solve their financial problems (while posing a challenge to Fatah which does not have such large financial resources and whose members, as reported in one document, receive financial aid from PIJ). The strength of their financial sources enabled these organizations, inter alia, to penetrate the ranks of the Palestinian intelligence apparatuses, bribe senior commanders of apparatuses in the Jenin area and receive assistance from them in operational activity and in protection against expected PA moves.

i. The existence in Jenin of a terror infrastructure of the Fatah and Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades/Tanzim which is in contact with Marwan Barghouti, who provides them with money and budgets, and which competes with PIJ and Hamas. A captured document states that Jenin "refugee camp" is considered to be a Fatah "fortress" in the (Jenin) district and the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades in the camp are those "who consolidated Fatah's presence and operational capabilities". According to a captured document from May 2001, there are 63 Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades fighters in the Jenin district divided into four military units (it is assumed that their number has since risen). Their activity, it is written "focuses on the weakening of the Israeli enemy" and the defense of the refugee camp (in cooperation with other elements). The main constraint which blocked their progress (at least in the first half of 2001) was the financial constraint, and the Fatah activists in Jenin expected Marwan Barghouti to assist them in overcoming this problem.

j. Trans-organizational operational cooperation expressed by joint terrorist attacks in Israel and joint preparations to defend Jenin. There are a few expressions of this cooperation in the captured documents:

1) The existence of joint frameworks for all the terrorist organizations. The documents mention the "combined force" which apparently operates in the context of a defense plan for Jenin and whose men belong to all the organizations operating there (it is possible that the units operating in this framework are called "guard units". One document mentions a joint operations room in Jenin.

2) The existence of inter-organizational operational cooperation in the perpetration of terrorist attacks inside Israel. One document notes that the commander of the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades in the Jenin area recruited one of the terrorists who took part in the suicide attack in Afula (on 27 November 2001 in which 2 Israeli civilians were killed and approx. 50 wounded). The responsibility for this attack was indeed jointly claimed



by the PIJ and Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades. We are familiar with additional cases of inter-organizational cooperation (Fatah and PIJ) in perpetration of terrorist attacks inside Israel which originated in the Jenin area (see following section).

3) Cooperation in various realms between Fatah and local PA intelligence apparatuses and the PIJ and Hamas. This is expressed not only in joint terrorist attacks but also in warnings of expected activities by the PA which were transferred to the PIJ by the Deputy Chief of the Preventive Security Directorate in Jenin; in early reporting of expected arrests and names of wanted persons by the PA, in the procurement of arms by Preventive Security officers for the PIJ and Hamas in the Jenin area. One captured document states that the Deputy Head of the Preventive Security Directorate supplied Hamas and PIJ with weapons from "the arms depot in northern Palestine whose contents were stolen" (the intention is to the arms stolen from Kibbutz Manara, some of which, according to a press report was found by the IDF in Jenin).

m. The direction of the PIJ terror infrastructure in the Jenin area by the organization's headquarters in Damascus. In this framework, one document states that Dr. Ramadan Shalakh, the PIJ secretary, transfers large sums of money to PIJ activists in Jenin, for financial aid to the families of martyrs and also for payment of expenses for suicide and killing attacks. According to this document, he transferred a large sum of money for the suicide and killing attacks in Afula (27 November 2001), whose "sundry expenses" was a sum of \$31,000. In addition, a sum of \$127,000 is mentioned as aid to support the families of martyrs and activists under arrest (these sums of money also constituted a source for corruption and internal strife amongst PIJ members in Jenin).

n. One captured document indicates ties between senior activists in the Jenin terror infrastructure and Israeli Arabs, while exploiting the fact that the refugees living in the Jenin area originate from the Galilee. The document notes that Bassam Ragheb Al Sa'adi, a senior PIJ activist in Jenin who deals in money transfers, conducts "extensive ties with people inside the green line (areas)". (Bassam Sa'adi is known to be a PIJ senior activist in Jenin who is responsible for the perpetration of a few bomb attacks inside Israel including in Hadera (25 May 2001) and Netanya (30 January 2001).

#### **Major Attacks Carried out by the Terrorist Infrastructure in Jenin**

##### **Hamas**

1. 9 September 2001 - A suicide attack in Nahariya, 3 Israelis killed and 48 wounded, the attacker was an Israeli Arab from the Galilee.
2. 19 March 2002 - A shooting attack in Hamam Al Maliach (Jordan Valley), an IDF officer was killed and 3 Israelis were wounded.
3. 31 March 2002 - Suicide attack in Haifa, leaving 15 Israeli civilians dead and 33 wounded. The attacker was from Jenin refugee camp, and had an Israeli ID card.

##### **PIJ**

1. 16 July 2001 - A suicide attack at the Binyamina railway station killing 2 Israelis and wounding 10.
2. 28 October 2001 - A shooting attack in Hadera killing 4 Israelis and wounding 42.
3. 29 November 2001 - A suicide attack at a junction near an army base near Pardes Hanna killing 3 Israelis and wounding 9.
4. 25 January 2002 - A suicide attack at the old Central Bus Station in Tel Aviv leaving 23 wounded (in cooperation with Fatah).
5. 5 January 2002 - A suicide attack in Afula, killing one Israeli and wounding 15.
6. 20 March 2002 - A suicide attack in a bus in Wadi Ara, killing 7 Israelis and wounding 28.
7. 10 April 2002 - A suicide attack at the Yagur junction, killing 8 Israelis and wounding 20.

##### **Fatah**

1. 1 February 2001 - The murder of Lior Ataya.
2. 28 April 2001 - Shooting at a car near Umm al Fahm, killing one Israeli civilian and



wounding another (female).

3. 1-3 May 2001 - Test firing of mortar bombs produced by Fatah activists.

4. 28 June 2001 - Shooting at a vehicle near Ganim, one woman was killed.

5. 8 August 2001 - The laying of a charge at Golani Junction, there were no casualties.

6. 11 September 2001 - Shooting at "Bezek" workers near Shaked and detonation of a charge at an IDF force that was carrying out searches in the area. An Israeli civilian and 4 soldiers were wounded.

7. 4 October 2001 - A terrorist disguised as a soldier fired at Israeli civilians in the central bus station in Afula. 3 civilians were killed and 14 wounded.

8. 27 October 2001 - Infiltration to the settlement of Me Ammi and laying of a charge there. There were no casualties.

9. 9 November 2001 - Shooting at an Israeli vehicle near Yabed. An Israeli civilian woman was killed.

10. 27 November 2001 - A joint PIJ and Fatah suicide attack, in which terrorists fired at civilians in the Afula central bus station. 2 Israeli civilians were killed and 50 wounded.

11. 8 February 2002 - Masterminding of a joint PIJ and Fatah suicide attack aimed at Tel Aviv. The attack was prevented when the squad was intercepted in Jenin, when the terrorists detonated the explosive belt in their possession.

12. 7 March 2002 - A terrorist hurls a charge that was hidden in a birds cage during a chase in Karkur.

13. 11 March 2002 - Shooting at a truck. An Israeli Arab incurred medium wounds.

14. 12 March 2002 - Shooting at an Israeli vehicle on the road to the village of Katsir, one Israeli was severely wounded and 2 lightly wounded.

15. 21 March 2002 - A suicide attack in a Jerusalem cafe, killing 3 Israeli civilians and wounding 71.

16. 22 March 2002 - A suicide terrorist blew himself up near an IDF force, near Anin village, a soldier incurred medium wounds.

17. 30 March 2002 - A suicide attack in a Tel Aviv cafe, killing one Israeli civilian and wounding 45.

#### **Nablus - The Main Infrastructure of Palestinian Terrorism**

1. Nablus constituted the main Palestinian terrorism infrastructure and the headquarters of the terrorist organizations' leaderships in the West Bank. This infrastructure directed and executed suicide attacks in which scores of Israeli citizens were killed and over 400 were wounded. The terrorism operational centers in Nablus instructed terrorist squads in the Jenin, Tulkarm, Qalqilya, and Ramallah areas to perpetrate terror attacks in the West Bank and inside Israel.



**A tunnel that served for concealing and smuggling arms**

2. The operational cooperation between the various terror organizations in Nablus resulted in murderous terror attacks, which were jointly carried out by the planners of the PIJ in Jenin, the Hamas explosives laboratories in Nablus, and Fatah/Tanzim suicide bombers.



**Pipe charges found in an explosives lab in the Nablus Casbah**

3. During Operation Defensive Shield and in previous IDF activities, 18 explosives laboratories, 10 explosive belts, and hundreds of kilos of explosives (some standard high power explosives) were found in Nablus. In addition, 7 Qassam rockets and their production labs were found. Most of the labs and the arms caches were found in the Balata refugee camp (RC) and in the Casbah (the old city) of Nablus. Tunnels were also discovered in the Casbah used for hiding and smuggling arms. Arms caches and wanted terrorists were also found in the homes of the mayor of

Nablus and the commander of the Palestinian Police, which attests to the direct involvement of PA officials in terrorist activities in the Nablus area.

4. The continuous IDF activities in the Nablus area, especially Operation Defensive Shield, significantly damaged the Hamas and Fatah terror infrastructure. Nevertheless, the activists who escaped from Nablus will attempt to return and execute terror attacks as revenge for the IDF operation, and in order to prove that Israel did not manage to eliminate terrorism.

5. The main terror organizations operating in Nablus were: Hamas, Fatah, and the PFLP. According to captured documents, these organizations cooperated in order to defend the city and the neighboring refugee camps vis-a-vis the IDF troops. At least 30 Fatah activists who operated in Nablus were soldiers in the "National Security Apparatus" and were attached to the Fatah/Tanzim in the city. They received regular salaries from the PA during the entire confrontation with Israel. In our assessment there were hundreds of gunmen in the city.

6. The cooperation network between the organizations was based on geographical sectors - the old city, the refugee camps, etc. Each sector incorporated members of the Fatah, Hamas, the DFLP, PFLP, PDA (a DFLP branch headed by the PA Information Minister Yasser Abd Rabu), the PFLP-GC/Jibril Front and the "People's HQ" (former Communists).

#### The Terror Infrastructures According to Organizations and Subjects

##### 7. The Hamas

- a. The leadership and the heads of the Hamas operational apparatus ("Az-al-Din al-Qassam battalions") in the West Bank resided in Nablus.
- b. Most of the explosive charges and explosive belts used for the Hamas suicide bombings in Israel, including the attack in Haifa (December 2001, 15 Israelis killed) and the massacre on Passover Eve in Netanya (27 March, 2002, 28 Israelis killed) were produced in Nablus.
- c. The apparatus activists in Nablus directed the Hamas network activities in Tulkarm which perpetrated the suicide attack in Netanya.
- d. The Hamas activists in Nablus who constitute in practice the organization's leadership in the West Bank, masterminded and directed from the city areas which served as its main headquarters, most of the murder attacks which the movement carried out in Israel and in the West Bank since the outbreak of the current confrontation with the Palestinians, e.g. Emmanuel (December 2001, 11 Israelis killed, and 27 wounded), Hamra in the Jordan Valley (February 2002, 3 Israelis killed), Elon Moreh (28 March, 2002, 4 Israelis killed).

##### 8. The Qassam rockets

- a. In Nablus operated the Hamas infrastructure which produced Qassam 2 rockets (6-7 kilometer range with an enlarged explosives warhead). Nablus constituted the center of knowhow for the production and operation of the rockets in the West Bank.
- b. The rockets were developed in the Gaza Strip by the Hamas infrastructure. The knowhow and operational doctrine were transferred from Gaza to Sa'ed Awad in the West Bank who was in charge of the Qassam program, assembled the activists and established the production labs disposition. Awad made an effort to transfer the knowhow and rockets to other organizations and activists in order to extend the use of rockets as the main weapon against Israel. These infrastructures were led by Sa'ed Awad and Majdi Balasmeh (who were killed in a clash with IDF troops in April 2002).
- c. The Nablus infrastructure transferred the operational rockets to Tulkarm, in order to launch them at cities in the center of Israel. In addition, it tried to transfer them to Jenin, an attempt foiled by Israeli forces



A lab for developing Qassam 2 rockets found in Balata refugee camp, where 7 rockets were found.



Qassam 2 rockets found in Balata refugee camp.



in January 2002 (8 rockets and launchers were captured).

e. The infrastructure's core was uncovered and destroyed during an IDF operation in Balata RC on 27-28 February 2002, in which Israeli forces broke into several production laboratories and seized 7 rockets.



**A lab for developing Qassam 2 rockets in Balata refugee camp.**

#### 9. The Fatah

A number of Fatah cells operated in Nablus, and carried out hundreds of shooting and explosive charge attacks. The main Fatah cell in Nablus was headed by Nasser Aweis (arrested April 2002), it was responsible for the following:

- a. At least 7 suicide attacks in Israel in which 15 Israeli civilians were killed and over 200 wounded.
- b. Served as the center for planning and logistics for Fatah cells in Tulkarm, Qalqiya, and Ramallah, which carried out attacks under the name of "Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades". It provided the terrorists in these cities with funds, arms and knowhow to produce explosive charges.
- c. The network of Fatah cells was supported by Marwan Barghouti (arrested in April 2002), the head of the "Fatah Supreme Council" in the West Bank and the leader of the Fatah/Tanzim in this area.

#### 10. Cooperation between the various terrorist organizations

The various organizations cooperated between them on the basis of the relative advantage of each organization. Thus, the PIJ planners joined forces with the highly lethal Hamas explosive charges and the Fatah suicide bombers. This collaboration led to the following:

- a. An attempted double suicide attack at the old central bus station in Tel Aviv (25 January 2002, 26 Israelis injured).
- b. The transfer of Qassam rockets and some of the production knowhow to other terrorist organizations, particularly to the Fatah.

#### 11. The PA's involvement in terror

The PA security apparatuses in Nablus were involved in terror both by giving terrorist activists a safe haven and by directly perpetrating terrorist attacks:

- a. The head of military intelligence in Nablus, Maher Fares, operated a terrorist cell which placed an explosive charge on a Tel Aviv bus (28 December 2000, 9 Israelis wounded) and carried out various shooting and explosive charge attacks in the sector. Three senior activists of the cell were killed while attempting to prepare a car bomb (30 July 2001). The head of military intelligence in Nablus also operated a terrorist squad in the village of Salfit, which perpetrated over 10 shooting attacks in the Nablus area.
- b. Various terror activists joined the PA ranks, which enabled them to receive monthly salaries while continuing their terrorist activities. Nasser Aweis, a senior Fatah terror activist in the West Bank, was on the PA General Intelligence payroll and later also on the PA National Security payroll. In his interrogation, Aweis confessed that he himself and terror activists of the Fatah/Tanzim carried out attacks in Israel that were financed by Arafat, who would personally sign the approval of aid provided him via Barghouti.
- c. Individual PA security apparatus activists joined up to carry out terror attacks. Ibrahim Hasouna, who carried out the "Sea Food Market" restaurant attack in Tel Aviv (5 March 2002, 3 Israelis killed) belonged to the PA Naval Force apparatus in Nablus. Said Ramadan, who carried out the suicide attack in the center of Jerusalem (22 January 2002, 2 Israelis killed) also belonged to the PA Naval Force

#### Major Terrorist Attacks that Originated in the Nablus Terrorist Infrastructure

Date	Terrorist Attack	No. of	No. of
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		Israelis Killed	Israelis Wounded
<b>Hamas</b>			
1 June 2001	Tel Aviv "Dolphinarium" discotheque	21	120
9 August 2001	Sbarro restaurant, Jerusalem	15	107
2 December 2001	Haifa	15	37
12 December 2001	Emmanuel	11	27
6 February 2002	Hamrah	3	2
9 February 2002	Tapuah Jct.	1	1
28 February 2002	Elon Moreh	4	
<b>Total</b>		<b>70</b>	<b>337</b>
<b>Fatah</b>			
1 April 2001	Kfar Salem	1	
17 June 2001	Mt. Elval		1
12 July 2001	Bracha		3
2 August 2001	Mt. Elval		
19 September 2001	Oranit		2
28 September 2001	Samaritans Neighborhood in Nablus		
30 September 2001	Kusin		1
9 October 2001	Oranit		1
10 October 2001	Kfar Tzara		1
22 October 2001	Burqa		1
31 October 2001	Kusin		
31 October 2001	Ra'anana (home of an IDF officer)		
11 November 2001	Kfar Hess	1	1
19 November 2001	Shavei Shomron		3
15 December 2001	Sha'ar Ephraim		
24 December 2001	Shavei Shomron		1
17 January 2002	Hadera	6	25
22 January 2002	Jerusalem	1	9
25 January 2002	Tel Aviv Central Bus Station		26
27 January 2002	Jerusalem	1	131
5 February 2002	Yitzhar		1



17 February 2002	IDF Camp (near Pardes Hanna)		9
15 February 2002	Surda roadblock	1	
27 February 2002	Maccabim roadblock		2
5 March 2002	Tel Aviv	3	26
7 March 2002	Karkur		
7 March 2002	Hawarra		1
8 March 2002	Beit Hananya		
9 March 2002	Netanya	2	58
16 March 2002	Kfar Saba	1	8
30 March 2002	Baq'a al-Sharqiyah	1	
<b>Total</b>			
<b>PFLP</b>			
27 August 2001	Beit Furiq	1	
7 March 2002	Ariel		14
<b>Total</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>14</b>

#### Bethlehem - Mistreatment of the Christian Population

1. A document captured by the IDF in Bethlehem during Operation Defensive Wall concerns a request by the "Fatah/AI Aqsa Martyrs (and Church of) Nativity Brigades" to the Bethlehem municipality for aid in the form of monetary contributions for its military arm. The request (dated November 7th 2001) is explained by the fact that the Fatah's widening military activity has caused an increase in its military infrastructure's daily expenses (fees for communications sets, fuel for vehicles and so on).

2. The implications arising from this document:

a. Audacity and brazenness in the very adopting of a Christian religious symbol by a terrorist organization. The "AI Aqsa Martyrs Brigades" (which the document proves are identical to Fatah), which was recently declared a terrorist organization by the US, has adopted in Bethlehem a Christian religious symbol recognized worldwide. This, in our view, in order to try to gain legitimacy among Bethlehem's Christian residents, and portray itself as their protector. It requires no small degree of blatant audacity, brazenness and cynicism to add the Church of the Nativity to the name of an organization that perpetrates suicide attacks against innocent civilians inside Israel, and make a link between the places holy to Islam and Christianity in the context of terrorist activities.

b. The maintaining of a protection racket by armed groups that abuse the local population. It is not known how the Bethlehem municipality responded to the request. However, the request itself for aid from municipal budgets earmarked for the local civilian population's needs is not "innocent" and it is part of a protection racket imposed on the local population, local businessmen and civilian institutions.

c. The transfer of funds from PA civilian institutions to Fatah's terrorist infrastructure. The document gives expression to the various financing channels at the disposal of "Fatah/AI Aqsa Martyrs Brigades". In one of its documents the "AI Aqsa Martyrs Brigades" make a request to Fuad Shubaki, a close associate of Arafat, to finance vital ongoing and infrastructure needs for continuing their terrorist activities. In this document they address a civilian municipal authority that receives its budget from the Palestinian "Finance Ministry" (which receives European Union grants) and from contributions of Christian institutions worldwide.

3. The contents of this document correspond with many reports on extortion, unwarranted arrests, protection and corruption prevailing in Bethlehem, simultaneously with the terrorist campaign waged against Israel. The following

are some examples:

a. Extortion and unwarranted arrests of Bethlehem businessmen to gain bribes:

1) Men of the Bedouin Taamra tribe (a tribe that resides in the Bethlehem area from which includes many violent thugs that terrorize Bethlehem's civilian population) extort money from Christian businessmen.

2) After the car of the senior Fatah terrorist activist Atef Abayat exploded (in one of the captured documents Arafat allocates for him a sum of money) he had gold rings on his fingers identified as having been robbed from the Christian businessman George Nissan.

b. Criminal activities by the Fatah/Tanzim:

1) Fatah activists, who are not satisfied with the financial aid they receive from the PA, extort money from businessmen and property owners in the city (souvenir shops, real estate, petrol stations owners). This criminal activity is carried out in cooperation with the Palestinian security apparatuses, which customarily summon the businessmen for "clarifications", on so-called suspicions of cooperation with Israel, and demand payment in return for closing the "file". Security apparatus personnel also collect money from businessmen as "monetary aid" to cover various expenses.

2) In mid-March 2001 a Bethlehem woman called Saadah Hamidan (formerly a security prisoner who worked in the prisoners club in Bethlehem) was raped and murdered. Involved in the affair was a senior Tanzim official called Iman Ali Azmi al-Kadi, a close friend of Abdallah al-Nu'ura (Abu Hadid) one of the Tanzim's heads in Bethlehem. Al Kadi was brought before a judge for trial, but after the judge was bribed by Fatah activists in Bethlehem, he was acquitted.

c. Appropriation of Christian lands. Moslem personnel - PA personnel and private people, sped up their appropriation of the lands of the Greek Orthodox Church in Bethlehem. This was carried out by violent means, the forging of documents and bribes. In some cases this was carried out in cooperation between church elements and PA elements. In one case a plot of land in Bethlehem was appropriated to build a mosque with the involvement of the commander of Force 17 in the area, in the claim that this was being done by Arafat's orders. Requests to Jibril Rajoub and Haj Ismail to intervene and stop the construction works were in vain.

d. "Protection services" by Fatah/Tanzim for extremist Islamic elements. Protection is imposed not only on the civilian population in Bethlehem. Elements in the Islamic Jihad and the Hamas transferred funds in the sum of 1500-3000 dollars to Tanzim activists and Palestinian intelligence officers in return for intervening on their behalf to prevent their arrest. By this arrangement, Hamas and Islamic Jihad operatives were given early warning by General Intelligence and Preventive Intelligence officers of their imminent arrest. (Such "arrangements" whereby Islamic Jihad and Hamas activists were prewarned of their imminent arrest are noted also in a captured document concerned with the Jenin area)

e. Failure to provide protection to the Christians by the judicial system of the PA that operates in Bethlehem, which is plagued by irregularities and distortion of justice. Of note in this regard is the failure to provide protection to Christian land-owners, which Moslem migrants from Hebron are taking over. The following is one example. The Comtsieh family (a Christian family) has a plot of land with a building that serves as a business center in the city. Several years ago a Moslem family from Hebron took possession of the building and started to use it without permission. The Comtsieh family filed a claim with the judicial system and after long and arduous court hearings, the court ruled in the claimant's favor. However, the verdict was never enforced by the police and representatives of the family from Hebron later appeared with a new court verdict (signed by the same judge who ruled in the claimants' favor previously), canceling the previous verdict and ratifying the Hebron family's ownership of the property.

#### Translation of the Original Document

Emblem of the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades  
Stamp: Bethlehem Municipality  
17.11.2001



**In the Name of the All-merciful Allah**

To: Brothers, Bethlehem Mayor and Honorable Municipality Members,

Greetings of the Homeland to you.... greetings of the pure blood that has saturated the soil of our beloved province. Our blessings to you and to the tremendous efforts that you invested in order to develop this province.

Honorable brothers, we intend to put the issue to you, an issue that is of utmost importance for us and will have a deep influence on our moves. The issue is your participation in a small portion (of the expenses) of our daily needs, in the shadow (of expenses) which lie heavily on us, due to the difficult circumstances our people and us especially are in. we wish to draw your attention to the fact and tell you that we pay the LC Public Trade Company, owned by Faez Hazboun a sum which does not exceed 5,000 shekels a month, as fees for the use of communications sets by military arm personnel" (Note: Faez Hazboun is a businessman from Bethlehem who owns a cellular phone company).

In addition, (we also pay) for fuel which is a basic and important component in our movements from place to place and this, in accordance with the demands of the national interest.... your participation in this matter will lead to our glorification and of pride in you.

We request your serious reference to this subject.

Please accept our appreciation and the honor which we have for you.

The Palestinian National Liberation Movement

"Fatah"

Al Aqsa Martyrs (and Church) of the Nativity of the city of Bethlehem Brigades  
(Stamp of the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades)

*Note in handwriting of some clerk in the Bethlehem Municipality:*

Sir, Director of the Municipality  
(to be raised) in the meeting

19.11.2001

**SEE ALSO ...**

- Additional documents connecting Arafat and the PA to terrorists and terrorist activities
- Operation Defensive Shield: Special Update

Close